

# BEYOND THE HOUSE CALL: DOCTORS IN EARLY BYZANTINE HISTORY AND POLITICS

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First, a brief survey of the doctor's role in Graeco-Roman history and literature, to put the attitudes and careers of late antiquity in perspective. We may begin Byzantinely with Homer. In *Iliad* 11.514, rescue of the wounded physician Machaon is an Achaean priority on the grounds that a man who can pull out arrows and heal with his ointments is worth many men. This pragmatic view is reinforced in *Odyssey* 17.382–85, where doctors are registered as craftsmen along with seers, carpenters, and minstrels, a classification echoed in Plato's *Gorgias*, where they are compared to shipwrights (455b). In his recent and monumental—in size, at any rate—volume on ancient class warfare,<sup>1</sup> the marxist Geoffrey de Ste. Croix rather snidely juxtaposes them with whores and “other providers of essential services.”

The elder Pliny would have liked that! In his captious history of medicine (*NH* 29.1.1–28), he clearly has Homer in mind when he says that, despite Asclepius and other alleged resurrections, medicine was famous in Trojan times *only* for the treatment of wounds.<sup>2</sup> He goes on to remark the curious (*mirum dictu*) lack of evidence for the history of medicine down to the Peloponnesian War.<sup>3</sup> We may gloss his account by remarking the significant failure of doctors to bulk large in Old Comedy. Yet the extended medical simile whereby Euripides describes his treatment of tragedy in the *Frogs* (939 f.) implies some public awareness of the art, and is comparable to the analogy between medicine and kingship drawn in the sixth-century Byz-

antine treatise *On Political Science*.<sup>4</sup> And Aristophanes' occasional allusions<sup>5</sup> to doctors' greed set the pace for centuries to come.

From this time, Pliny continues, the profitability of medicine knew no bounds, and the tale of Hellenistic and Roman doctors is told in terms of their moneygrubbing, making fame as well as fortune out of fads and gimmicks, and of quarreling amongst themselves like philosophers. We need not follow him in detail, though notice his singling out of Erasistratus in the light of that worthy's disparagement by Galen and consequent mockery in the twelfth-century Byzantine satire *Timarion*;<sup>6</sup> also Vettius Valens, said to be as famous for his eloquence as his science, and so looking to the future connection between medicine and rhetoric; and the pugnaciously heterodox Thessalus of Nero's time who proclaimed himself Conqueror of the Physicians (*Iatronikes*), a title that vaguely prefigures such Byzantine pomposities as *Didaskalos ton iatron* and *Hypatos ton philosophon*. At the other end of the labeling scale is Archagathus, the first doctor to come to Rome (219 B.C.), whose relentless use of knife and cautery earned him the nickname Executioner (*carnifex*), a sobriquet used many centuries later by Theodore Prodromos as the title of his satire against doctors.<sup>7</sup>

We take our leave of Pliny with the reflection that his espousal of old Cato's John Birch-like view of Greek doctors as a conspiracy to kill off the Romans may have been prompted in part by contem-

[The reader is referred to the list of abbreviations at the end of the volume.]

<sup>1</sup>G. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1981), 271.

<sup>2</sup>... *fama clarior, vulnerum tamen dumtaxat remediis* (29.1.3).

<sup>3</sup>Though notice Theognis, fr. 432, for an early connection between Asclepiadae and large fees.

<sup>4</sup>See E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), 70; cf. A. R. Littlewood, “The Midwifery of Michael Psellus: an Example of Byzantine Literary Originality,” *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 136–42.

<sup>5</sup>*Av.* 584; *Plut.* 407; cf. V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1951), 134.

<sup>6</sup>*Timarion* 28, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1974).

<sup>7</sup>Ed. G. Podestà, *Aevum*, 21 (1947), 12–25.

porary gossip over the part played by the physician Xenophon in the death of Claudius.<sup>8</sup> Pliny does not say as much, but could be dropping a hint when he quotes<sup>9</sup> the gloomy epitaph, "It was the crowd of physicians that killed men," a sentiment that is ubiquitous, from a line of Menander (fr. 1112), to a situation in Petronius (*Sat.* 42.5: *medici illum perdidierunt*), to the lips of the dying Hadrian.<sup>10</sup> Hence the image of the deadly doctor in epigrams of the Greek Anthology (11.112–26), their unfavorable role in the jests of the *Philogelos*,<sup>11</sup> that delightful jokebook compiled in (probably) the fifth or sixth century, and what is perhaps the most crushing comment of all, that of Athenaeus: "Were it not for the doctors, there wouldn't be anything stupider than the professors" (*Deip.* 666a).

That conjunction is a good cue for the vexed issue of iatrosophists. Medicine, of course, often went together with philosophy and rhetoric. Galen is the outstanding example,<sup>12</sup> but the combination is implicit in some of the characters chronicled by Philostratus. The Pergamene, who is in Athenaeus if not Philostratus, enjoyed the accolade *protos kai monos* (the first and only), concerning which we should note and savor the droll remark of a late Byzantine savant, Michael Italicus: εἰ πρῶτος, πῶς μόνος; καὶ εἰ μόνος, πῶς πρῶτος;<sup>13</sup> Eunapius (*VS* 497, 499) may treat doctors and philosophers as separate categories, but he still thought them part of the same story. Indeed, one of his stars, Ionicus, is perhaps the most breathtakingly versatile on record: as well as his skills in anatomy, pharmacy, amputation, dissection, and post-operative bandaging, he was philosopher, orator, poet, and diviner! Such combinations help us see how medicine came to be a standard ingredient in Byzantine higher

education, as the statements of didactic intent in Psellus' *Carmen de re medica* and similar works<sup>14</sup> make clear. In the fifteenth-century satire *Mazaris*,<sup>15</sup> Holobolos is asked whether he is rated as a top doctor or top orator down in Hades, or whether he follows both callings as on earth, where greed drew him to medicine.<sup>16</sup>

Yet "iatrosophist" is a word tossed around textbooks without due regard for its history and usage. Bowersock<sup>17</sup> is a prime offender, adducing as he does *Anth. Pal.* 11.281 (Palladas on Magnus) where the word is only in the lemma, and Dio Chrysostom 33.6 where it appears by courtesy of a von Arnim emendation. LSJ cite only a fragment of Damascius on Gesius (to whom we shall recur); their Supplement adds ps.-Callisthenes 1.3, of magicians. Lampe (*PGL*) gives two examples from Epiphanius, two from Sophronius; notice the cognate adjective, not in LSJ, used by the former of a quack physician. The *Philogelos* in two jokes (175, 183) has a doctor addressed as σοφιστά. Some allowance has naturally to be made for different ways of saying the same thing. When Stephanus of Byzantium calls Gesius ὁ περιφύης τῶν ἱατρῶν σοφιστής, that is pretty much the same as using the compound. But when all is said and done, the rarity of *iatrosophistes* remains a striking and unappreciated fact.<sup>18</sup>

One more matter will complete the setting. In pagan times there had been a conflict of vested interests between Asclepius and the medical profession. But this can be exaggerated. Aelius Aristides is witness to the fact that some doctors preferred co-existence, even co-operation.<sup>19</sup> As with so many

<sup>8</sup>Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.67; for Xenophon and doctors like him at Rome, cf. S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1969), 129–32. Cato's views are cited *in extenso* by Pliny, *NH* 29.1.14.

<sup>9</sup>*NH* 29.1.11: *hinc illa infelix monumentis inscriptio, turba se medicorum perisse*.

<sup>10</sup>Dio Cassius 69.22.4, albeit not in *HA*, *Hadr.* 25.9, where instead there are the famous verses on Hadrian's soul, on which see now A. Cameron, "Poetae Novelli," *HSCPh*, 84 (1980), 167–72.

<sup>11</sup>Ed. A. Thierfelder (Munich, 1968). Doctors feature in various jokes (139, 142, 174–77, 183–85, 221), mainly for greed and incompetence, but sometimes for bad temper or gluttony. On the social tensions reflected in the *Philogelos*, cf. R. Brown, "The Low Level Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (Birmingham, 1981), 121.

<sup>12</sup>See G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), 66 f.

<sup>13</sup>*Ep.* 13, ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca* 3 (Oxford, 1836), 188; on the title, cf. J. Duffy, "Philologica Byzantina," *GRBS*, 21 (1980), 267.

<sup>14</sup>Such as the iambic poems On the Sacred Art by, respectively, Archelaus, Hierotheus, and Theophrastus, edited along with Psellus' poem and sundry other works by Ideler (*Physici et Medici Graeci Minores* [Berlin, 1842]).

<sup>15</sup>Written, it may be noted, in the reign of Manuel II, who left one quarter of his fortune to his doctors; Sphrantzes, *Chron. Min.* 15.

<sup>16</sup>In the *Mazaris*, doctors are constantly upbraided as killers and vampires, stronger stuff than the *Timarion*, whose mockery of medical theory is in a more literary and chaffing style. Incidentally, I cannot agree with O. Temkin, "Byzantine Medicine," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 115, that the *Timarion*'s audience would need "a remarkable medical knowledge" to enjoy it, or with its editor Romano who thinks it must have been written by a doctor (he suggests Nicolas Callicles, against which notion I am writing elsewhere). Any educated Byzantine could appreciate a comic routine about doctors, just as we can today, without a deep professional knowledge.

<sup>17</sup>*Greek Sophists*, 67, n.3.

<sup>18</sup>It may be added that the word occurs in garbled Latin form (*eotrosuliste*) in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (ed. Goetz, Leipzig, 1892) 3.600.32 as a gloss on *medicus sapientissimus*, a different shade of meaning.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Chicago, 1968), 162–70.

Byzantine things, this debate carried on under changed names. The rivalry was now between greedy, incompetent doctors and the efficient medicare of the Christian healing saints, as admirably documented for the East by H. J. Magoulas<sup>20</sup> and for the West by Peter Brown.<sup>21</sup> It is notable that some saints developed very professional-sounding expertises, such as St. Artemius<sup>22</sup> who specialized in genital tumors, in obvious rivalry with the earthly *kelotomos* prescribed (for example) in John II Comnenus' *typikon*<sup>23</sup> for his monastery hospital.

In what follows, I more or less cover the ground of the first two volumes of *PLRE*, A.D. 260–527. In seeking to include all doctors, that compilation may be thought to overvalue the profession in historical and social terms, especially as other classes who sometimes had more obvious impact on their times—charioteers being a case in point—are just as routinely excluded. But that is a topic for another occasion.<sup>24</sup>

Oribasius is the obvious starting point. But to find room for others, I will stick to wondering about the exact nature of his role in raising Julian to the throne.<sup>25</sup> For in an enigmatic sentence (*VS* 476), Eunapius says he worked in concert (*συνήδεσαν*) with a certain Euhemerus<sup>26</sup> the Libyan to allow Julian to overthrow the tyranny of Constantius. Eunapius refers the reader to his fuller account in the *History*, which we do not have. But since we know that his chief source was Oribasius' own memoir, the version there offered will have been what the doctor chose to reveal. Significantly, Eunapius drops his remark about Oribasius in the long section on Maximus, not in the doctor's own notice where (*VS* 498) it is said with deliberate vagueness that he so shone in every virtue as well as medicine as to disclose<sup>27</sup> Julian as emperor.

Two more things about Oribasius. First, he may have held no formal office of state; various late sources claim a quaestorship, but this is not believed in by *PLRE*.<sup>28</sup> Second, his exile after Julian sent him to unspecified barbarian courts. If this is taken to include Persia, Oribasius may have helped to form the taste for Byzantine doctor-diplomats that characterizes eastern potentates in the sixth century.<sup>29</sup>

As far as we can see, Oribasius stood uniquely close to an emperor in the fourth century. This may well have to do with the religious history of the times. Of the doctors whom we glimpse, a goodly number are clearly pagan. Eustochius, for notable instance, a disciple of Plotinus and the only one present at the master's death; Heraclides, also an epic poet, and Olympius who combined with his medicine the arts of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, both men frequent in the letters of Libanius; Zeno of Cyprus, along with his pupils Ionicus, Magnus, Oribasius, and Theon, who together constitute the block of medical men in Eunapius' *Lives*; and Dysarius at Rome, lauded by Symmachus and a character in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. In general terms, the label of Asclepiad<sup>30</sup> that attached to doctors at least until the twelfth century<sup>31</sup> will have kept them identified with paganism in the public mind. Before Constantine and in Julian's reign, this will naturally have been an advantage. Otherwise, although pagans were far from being shut out of office in the early centuries of Christian rule, the connection started to become harmful, being no doubt one reason for the castigation of doctors in the *Lives of the Saints*.<sup>32</sup> Not that there is any straight line in all of this. After all, Oribasius was allowed back from exile, and was still deemed a good marital prospect by the lady of wealth and pedigree who became his wife and the mother of

<sup>20</sup> "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *BZ*, 57 (1964), 127–50.

<sup>21</sup> *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Miracula S. Artemii*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 26.

<sup>23</sup> Ed. A. Dimitrievsky (Kiev, 1901), 682 f.

<sup>24</sup> See my two articles, with general discussion and lists of addenda and corrigenda in *Historia*, 25 (1976), 118–21; 31 (1982), 97–111. To avoid superfetation of footnotes, readers should assume that *PLRE* furnishes basic references and material for the individual doctors dealt with in the balance of this paper. However, *PLRE* has (inevitably) many errors of omission and commission, and I have always indicated these in my text and/or notes.

<sup>25</sup> For his career, see my "The Career of Oribasius," *Acta Classica*, 18 (1975), 85–97.

<sup>26</sup> About whom we know nothing more; *PLRE* omits him.

<sup>27</sup> The verb used is ἀποδείκνυμι, a favorite of Eunapius in such contexts, e.g. frs. 4, 39, 42; a full conspectus of references

is provided by J. C. Vollebregt, *Symbola in novam Eunapii Vitarum editionem* (Amsterdam, 1929), 39.

<sup>28</sup> It cites only *Suda* 0 543 (Adler) for the claim; the quaestorship is also given by Philostorgius, *HE* 7.77 (= *Passio Artemii* 35) and Cedrenus 1.532 (Bonn).

<sup>29</sup> See R. C. Blockley, "Doctors as Diplomats in the Sixth Century A.D.," *Florilegium*, 2 (1980), 89–100.

<sup>30</sup> Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 65, n. 2; cf. L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece* (London, 1956), 30.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Constantine Manasses, *Hodoiporikon* 3.73, ed. K. Horna, *BZ*, 13 (1904), 313–55; the *Timarion* also links doctors with Asclepius.

<sup>32</sup> In addition to the eastern material assembled by Magoulas (note 20 above), notice the incident in Gregory of Tours, *Vita Martini* 2.50.194, where the local Jewish doctor says of the dead saint, "Martin will do you no good whom the earth now rests, turning him to earth . . ."

his four children. Yet it remains striking that the two doctors most conspicuous in high places come late in the fourth century: Vindicianus, proconsul of Africa (379/82), who placed the crown of rhetoric on the young Augustine's head and who also dissuaded him from astrology;<sup>33</sup> and Marcellus of Bordeaux, named *magister officiorum* in the East (394/5) whilst Theodosius I was on the throne. Neither can have been the sort of doctor eulogized by Eupapius.

Earlier ages again provide the perspective. Of the 563 new men registered by T. P. Wiseman<sup>34</sup> as entering the senate 139 B.C.–A.D. 14, only one may have had medical connections, being possibly the son of Augustus' physician M. Artorius Asclepiades. This latter in turn is only one out of two in Crook's<sup>35</sup> list of 360 members of the *consilium principis* from Augustus to Diocletian. The other is L. Gellius Maximus, *archiateros* and friend of Caracalla.<sup>36</sup> His son, an officer of the Fourth Legion in Syria, was one of a crop of pretenders liquidated around 218/9. Dio Cassius (80.7.1) remarked that his attempt showed how topsy-turvy (πάντα ἄνω κάτω) the world had become. The same combination of medicine and military recurs in the West in a certain Dorus, former surgeon of the *scutarii*, whom Magnentius had promoted to night-watch commander in charge of public buildings. Having tried c. 350 to convict the city prefect Adelphius of treason, he made a similar attempt<sup>37</sup> in 356 against the powerful Arbetio. However, the hearing was mysteriously suppressed at the last minute and, in the splendid phrase of Ammianus (16.6.3) *Dorus evanuit*—no doubt in the Orwellian sense! Finally, on a still more odious note that helps us appreciate the hagiographic attacks on doctors, let us quickly shuffle on and off the stage a certain Aristo who cut out the tongue of the martyr Romanus in the Galerian persecution,<sup>38</sup> hoping that he deserves the asterisks and obeli of disbelief with which *PLRE* adorns him.

The fifth and sixth centuries also fail to come up with a kingmaker of the Oribasian style.<sup>39</sup> What is

notable in the light of previous discussion is the much higher tally of Christian doctors. Even more to the point, a good number of these were converts. The most colorful case is Gesius (or Gessius) of Petra, famous in Zeno's reign as both practitioner and teacher of medicine, by which he won not only great wealth but also what Damascius (fr. 35) vaguely calls "unusual honors from the Romans." His ultimate<sup>40</sup> conversion came after the miraculous healing of a disease his own skills had failed to combat. A common, and most understandable, reason for conversion, especially in the case of Probianus, a palace doctor of the fifth century, who was cured of gout, a remission for which most sufferers would think any price worth paying.<sup>41</sup> Some conversions will have been expedient, but we need not be cynical about them all, certainly not in such cases as the Alexandrian medicals Cyrus and Stephanus who became monks.<sup>42</sup>

The most spectacular success story is that of Jacobus, nicknamed Psychristus, a very rare Greek word<sup>43</sup> presumably alluding to his cold bath treatments, a tradition going back to Antonius Musa under Augustus. Son of a doctor, the rackapelt Hesychius, Jacobus joined his father in Constantinople where the latter had recurred after being missing for nineteen years.<sup>44</sup> It was no doubt his father's contempt for rivals that gave Jacobus his notorious brusqueness and scorn of court etiquette which he did not even set aside when tending the emperor Leo. This lack of a bedside manner did him no more harm than his paganism: he was *comes* and *archiateros*, and much honored by statues erected by senators.

Since *PLRE* overlooked him, let us at least notice a doctor-philosopher said to have been a legate

<sup>40</sup>In baldly stating that he remained a secret pagan after baptism, *PLRE* neglects the splendid detail in Sophronius whereby Gesius arose from the baptismal waters with a parody of *Odyssey* 4.509, 511, to the effect that "this is a bath which takes one's breath away," on his lips; cf. K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982), 175. One might have thought this homeric rather than biblical utterance a clue to his unregenerate paganism.

<sup>41</sup>It was their failure to cure his gout and migraine that moved Libanius, *Or.* 1.140–41, to harsh criticism of his doctors. For a variant on this cause of conversion, notice the *archiater* Dioscorus who came over as an old man in gratitude for his daughter's recovery from illness.

<sup>42</sup>Nor in the case of the Jewish convert Adamantius.

<sup>43</sup>In the Latin Glosses, it is equivalent to *refrigeratum*.

<sup>44</sup>A Damascene, Hesychius had got married at Drepanum, after which he abandoned wife and child and spent the missing years in Alexandria and Italy. Apart from the necessary mobility of an errant husband and father, his travels recall those of many a poet, or other *literati* of the times.

<sup>33</sup>*Conf.* 4.3.5; 7.6.8; *Ep.* 138.3.

<sup>34</sup>*New Men in the Roman Senate* (Oxford, 1971); cf. no. 106 in Wiseman's register for the possible medical relations of A. Cascellius.

<sup>35</sup>J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (repr. New York, 1975), nos. 35, 161.

<sup>36</sup>For his career and titles, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 131.

<sup>37</sup>In cahoots with a *comes* inaptly called Verissimus.

<sup>38</sup>Prudentius, *Perist.* 10.896 f.

<sup>39</sup>*PLRE* is right to find the homonym addressed by Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* 1.437, too late to be the great man: a relation?

(ὕπαρχων) in high favor with Zeno. His name is suspicious, being Galen, and his source more so, namely the *Patria Cypoleos*.<sup>45</sup> But even if he is a fiction, it is an instructive one.

When sources dub Jacobus a philosopher, that need not mean much, stemming no doubt from his successful treatment of the neo-platonist Proclus. But the linkage of medical with other skills is still evident.<sup>46</sup> Petrus of Constantia in Osrhoene may seem unusual as a doctor-astrologer, but that is certainly no odder than the philosopher-dancer Memphis<sup>47</sup> of the Antonine Age. Also apparent is what we might loosely call Christian *iatrosophia*: Dionysius, Helpidius, and Julianus were doctors and deacons, whilst a certain Joannes was both physician and treasurer (*syncellus*) to Cyril of Alexandria.

Careers and sympathies of a very different sort provide balance. One Anthimus was arrested in Constantinople in 478, flogged, and exiled for supporting Theodoric Strabo. The unfortunate deacon-doctor Dionysius was taken prisoner by the Goths, amongst whom he continued to practice: was that why they took him? In 448 a certain Eudoxius was involved with the Bacaudae, and only escaped by fleeing to the Huns.<sup>48</sup> Thus, doctors were as caught up as any other profession in the vicissitudes of late Roman and early Byzantine life, at many levels of society and achievement.

In brief finale, the situation was largely then as now. Despite the hostile jokes, which we need not always take more seriously than modern routines about doctors on golf courses or flubbing diagnoses, the medical man was needed, and was known to be needed. In the hagiographies the healing saint is often the last resort, not the first. And the tradition of do-it-yourself medicine was for people far away from urban centers, who clearly went pri-

marily to man's medicine.<sup>49</sup> Doctors were generally learned men, if not always in medicine first. To quote a modern iatrosophist, Jonathan Miller,<sup>50</sup> "I wasn't driven into medicine by a social conscience, but by rampant curiosity." Hence they were in line for the usual preferments given in late antiquity to the erudite. As Symmachus put it with unwonted brevity: *vetus est sententia artes honore nutrire*.<sup>51</sup> Jones,<sup>52</sup> then, was quite wrong when he concluded: "The little that we know of a doctor's life is derived mainly from the papyri and from hagiography. The former suggest that their principal activity was signing medical certificates for the use of the courts and the administration, the latter that their fees were exorbitant and their cures few." And when doctors were attacked, we should recall how Petronius at once qualified his standard joke about them having killed the patient with the reflection that it was really the fault of destiny: to blame the doctor was only *animi consolatio*.

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<sup>49</sup>On this, cf. Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 116, with special reference to Marcellus of Bordeaux, whose compliment (*De med.* 23.77) to the Jewish patriarch Gameliel's amateur knowledge of empiric medicine is worth noting. Also observe such phenomena as the Theodorus disclosed in an inscription from Aphrodisias as a *χηροματίας*. The word is in no Greek lexicon; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, 13 (1965), 167–70, explains it as a species of osteopath. One wonders also if the explosion of veterinary writers in the fourth century—Apsyrus, Papyriensis, Pelagonius, Secundus—had anything to do with the greater use of cavalry in the late Roman world.

<sup>50</sup>Now as familiar in North America as in Britain for his skills in medicine, satire, writing, acting, and direction both of Shakespeare and the ballet. The quotation appeared in the *London Observer*, February 6, 1983.

<sup>51</sup>*Ep.* 1.43. Libanius, *Or.* 18.158, is (predictably) eloquent on the subject of Julian's preferment of poets and historians; cf. W. E. Kaegi, "The Emperor Julian's Assessment of the Significance and Function of History," *PAPS*, 108 (1964), 33. Anastasius, on the evidence of John Lydus, *De Mag.* 3.50.3, deemed only literary men suitable for the praetorian prefecture. John himself is a perfect example of the system: vain about his own learning, he regularly evaluates other officials on the basis of their education. For many other texts, and criticism of the principle, cf. A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1952), 106 f. In his novel *The Masters* (Penguin ed., 28), C. P. Snow (himself a product of the system) quips nicely on the survival of the principle in Britain: "He's thought to stand a chance of the colonial service if he can scrape a third. Of course, I'm totally ignorant of these matters, but I can't see why our colonies should need third class men with some capacity for organised sports."

<sup>52</sup>A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 1012–13. He went on to surmise that "these impressions" were no doubt unjust," but did not go beyond the limited view of his administrative evidence.

<sup>45</sup>Ed. T. Preger (Leipzig, 1901–7) 45.10.175.1; Galen was powerful enough to resist a prosecution by a *kapelos* called Callistratus.

<sup>46</sup>Sometimes manifest not so much in the individual as in his genes: witness Stephanus, father of Alexander of Tralles, also of Dioscorus the doctor, Metrodorus the grammarian, Olympius the jurist, and the famous architect of St. Sophia, Anthemius; Agathias, *Hist.* 5.6.3.

<sup>47</sup>In full, L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphis; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 148.

<sup>48</sup>He was not the only such case of a fugitive from the empire; the Greek merchant with whom Priscus of Panium (fr. 8) had his famous conversation in Attila's camp will be thought of.